E
302.6
P5
U6

DISCOURSE

C.W. Upham

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

GIFT OF

GEORGE A. FLEMING

H. Dwight

A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED

ON THE SABBATH AFTER THE DECEASE

OF THE

HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING.

BY CHARLES W. UPHAM,
JUNIOR PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH.

Salem:
FOOTE & BROWN::::::COURT STREET.
1829.

LIBRARY

FOOTE & BROWN, PRINTERS,
Salem Gazette Press.

SERMON.

PSALM XV.—1, 2. "*Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.*"

IF there is any one virtue, which awakens a more profound admiration than all others, it is integrity, residing in the inmost heart, and manifesting itself throughout the whole life. There never, in any community, civilized or uncivilized, was a system of morals, whether ascertained by positive description, or existing only in general public sentiment, in which integrity has not been placed among the highest of the virtues. There is an instinctive emotion of admiration and of reverence in the most uncultivated and even in the most depraved hearts, whenever this sublime attribute is manifested or mentioned.

I would appeal to the student of classic history, and ask, whose character, in the long catalogue of the great and wise whose names are recorded there, is contemplated by him with the deepest and purest satisfaction and admiration. He will answer, if his

judgment is guided by correct and elevated principles of moral taste and discernment, "ARISTIDES," the Grecian patriot, whom the people, in a moment of folly and madness, banished because he was "Just"—because he did what he thought to be his duty, no matter how unpopular might be the act—because he uttered what he thought to be the truth, no matter how many might be offended. The passing generation of the small community of which he was a member, injured and calumniated him, and rejected him from the midst of them, but he held fast his integrity, and would not let it go, and his name is hallowed in the admiration of the countless millions of all subsequent generations.

In the first chapter of the Gospel of John, we find a brief notice, in the simple and characteristic style of the sacred writers, of an interview between Jesus and a man named Nathaniel. He is mentioned but once more in the Scriptures, and then in such a manner as to inform us incidentally of the fact that he was a fisherman on the lake or sea of Tiberias. A few lines contain all that is known to man of the humble individual, who thus painfully, and in an obscure calling, gained his daily bread by his daily labor. But these lines, few and simple as they are, contain a eulogy, the highest and best to which man can aspire. "Jesus saw Nathaniel coming to him, and saith of him, *Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.*" These were the words of him who knew what was in man, and coming from him, they convey an encomium the value of which can neither be questioned nor estimated.

The memory of the poor Israelite whom they describe, will be cherished and honored wherever integrity and sincerity are honored. And all men in every age have honored them. The more the world is advanced in a knowledge of sound principles, and in the cultivation of moral sentiments, the greater will be the honor paid to these virtues; and the time will surely come, if it has not already come, when the praises of kings and warriors, and of men of every other description of renown, will be poor and insignificant when compared with the declaration which Jesus made, when the humble, but upright, fisherman of Galilee, approached him. "An Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."

Our text describes such a man as was the heathen Aristides and the Jewish Nathaniel, and it declares that such a man shall abide in God's tabernacle and dwell in his holy hill, shall enter the abodes and partake of the joys of Heaven. Let us examine the description which it contains of a man of integrity, of sincerity, and of honor—a man in whom there is no guile.

"He that walketh uprightly." In this clause we are presented with the definition of a character and life, which are established upon the principles of virtue, and upon a sense of duty. The man who always acts and speaks and moves under the guidance of the rules of a high morality—who, in every step which he may be called to take, instead of consulting his selfish interest, temporary expediency, worldly customs or principles, worldly applause or censure, inquires of his conscience, and his God—

is it right ? And, if they answer in the affirmative, moves fearlessly on, to do or to suffer. This man "walketh uprightly."

"Worketh righteousness." This expression implies not merely good and upright conduct, but activity in the performance of it. The man, whom the Psalmist would describe, is one who, by industrious continuance in well doing, renders himself useful and valuable in society—who is ever actuated by an enlarged and benevolent zeal to promote happiness and virtue—whose hand is ready to be put forth in every good enterprise—whose time and faculties are steadily and strenuously devoted to beneficial employments—who is willing to make exertion, and takes delight in making it, to relieve the suffering, defend the defenceless, and reward the worthy—who constantly strives, while providence permits him to dwell on the earth, to promote the great object of its administration, by faithfully and earnestly exercising all his energies in every direction in which they can usefully be put forth. This is the man who "worketh righteousness."

"And speaketh the truth in his heart." This is the last point in the character described in the text. It implies that strict veracity is observed, that nothing but truth is spoken. But it implies more than this. It requires, when taken in connection with the previous clauses, that the truth should *always* be spoken—that even, when selfish considerations would prompt to silence, there should be, not merely a willingness, but a disposition to declare and defend the truth without regard to private expediency, or

fear of personal consequences. The man, who comes up to the description of the text, will always feel within him an original, positive and urgent impulse to bring forward his testimony and countenance in favor of the true principle, and the righteous cause ; he will feel that the Divine Being has commanded him to promote and sustain on all occasions, under all circumstances, that truth, which proceeded from him as from a fountain, and which, by the ministry of his faithful and fearless children, is at last to have free and wide course, and be glorified throughout the earth.

He who merely abstains from aiding in giving currency to what is false, does not do all, nor the best part, of his duty. He must come forward and speak out the truth, or what he thinks to be the truth. He must give utterance boldly, and without reserve, to his own honest opinions, or he cannot be considered as having discharged his whole duty to his fellow men, or to Him, who called him, by the gift of reason, to the sublime pursuit of truth—who, when he kindled the light of intellect within him, ordained that it should shine around him upon others. If there were not so much timidity and indifference among good and enlightened men with respect to the prevalence of truth, if all were disposed openly and fearlessly to express their sincere opinions, the public sentiment of every community would be far more sound and correct than it now is, or ever has been, and the cause of truth would receive an impulse which it has never yet felt among men.

The expression, "in the heart," has an important meaning, and must be carefully taken into consider-

ation. It determines that it is not required of a man to maintain or to speak the actual, abstract truth, but the truth, according to his *apprehension of it.* If, after an honest, fearless, earnest and diligent exercise of his faculties upon a subject, he arrives at a certain result concerning it, and declares that result, even if it be not the actual and abstract truth, still it is truth "to his heart" and he speaketh the truth in his heart.

The character described by the Psalmist, we have now seen, is that of a man who, in all his conduct, is governed by a supreme regard to principle and duty, who industriously and earnestly exercises his faculties upon useful and benevolent designs and employments, and who zealously seeks, at all times and under all circumstances, to sustain and advance the cause of truth. Such a man he says "shall abide in God's tabernacle, and dwell in his holy hill." Heaven is his portion, and he is secure of the favor and blessing of his Creator and Father.— In this world he may suffer tribulation, but "he cannot be moved." There is a virtue that goeth forth from his example and his memory, and when death shall have spent its power upon him, he shall be raised in honor and in glory, and be transported to a world where eternal rewards shall be conferred upon truth and virtue, and there, in the bosom of his God, he shall dwell forever beyond the reach of change, and suffering, and sin.

We need not be troubled therefore, my friends, when the just and upright die. It surely will be well with them. We have a promise resting upon

the word of God that they are pleasing in his sight, and that an entrance shall be ministered unto them into the kingdom of Heaven. How glorious is the reward which is thus assured to the pure, and just, and upright ! and what a rich consolation is given to those from whom such are removed !

To us, my friends, is this consolation given—and we all, at this moment, can appreciate it. The infinitely wise ruler of the universe has removed from the midst of us, an honored and venerated member of this congregation and church. He was pure, just, and upright. He was a man "in whom was no guile"—during a long life he "walked uprightly, worked righteousness, and spoke the truth in his heart." Let us be comforted, therefore, by the blessed assurance that he will "abide forever in God's tabernacle, and dwell on his holy hill."

It is well known to you that it is not my custom to invade from this place the private sorrows of bereaved families, by any particular allusions to the causes of their affliction. Consolation is best administered to the hearts of mourners in those private and domestic retirements where their loss is chiefly felt. There is a tenderness of sensibility in the bosoms of the sorrowing, which shrinks back from public exposure. Yet I cannot but feel that the present is an occasion which demands a departure from the principle which usually governs me. If when a great and good man, whose life and character have ever illustrated the principles of virtue and religion, whose example of integrity and duty if presented to the community would surely inspire a love and admi-

ration of its own excellence, and whose influence has always been given to the promotion of those ends for which the pulpit has been erected--if, when such a man dies, and the whole community is mourning his loss--the pulpit does not improve the favorable opportunity to impress upon all a deep sense of his virtues, and thus excite a desire to imitate them, it is false to its trust. I therefore beg the indulgence of those, to whom this our severe bereavement has carried the keenest affliction, while I attempt to discharge (would that more strength were given me to discharge it),* the duty of my office, by presenting to you, my friends and people, and urging upon your imitation the virtues of that great man who has just fallen in the midst of us.

Our country has lost one of its purest and most patriotic—one of its most honored and useful citizens—but his character will ever remain among its richest treasures. This ancient town has lost one of its most active and virtuous inhabitants—but his name will forever be written high among the highest in the catalogue of its illustrious sons. This church has lost one of its most worthy and devout members —but never, never, while memory remains, shall we forget that venerable and dignified form—those noble features, upon which our eyes have delighted to look, when assembled here to commemorate our Saviour, or to worship our God.

If this were the place, or the occasion, I might rehearse to you his honorable and brilliant career of

* This discourse was prepared in great haste, and while the author was suffering from indisposition.

public service and usefulness, from a period long anterior to the American Revolution, through all its scenes of blood and suffering, and in stations of great public trust and importance, since the commencement of the government of the nation, almost to the day of his death. He not only served faithfully this his native commonwealth and the nation at large in the general government, but his name stands among the fathers and founders of another commonwealth, one of the largest in the union. At the time of his death he was among the last surviving members of the convention, which framed the present Constitution of the great State of Pennsylvania, and his zealous exertions procured the insertion into that instrument of the all-important article, the object of which was to *secure to the whole people* of that commonwealth the blessings of education, by a legal and certain provision for the gratuitous instruction of the poor. But I must not allow myself to enter into an enumeration of his great and various public services. That has been done by others elsewhere,* and the cause of truth and justice and virtue imperiously requires that a full and thorough delineation of his upright and illustrious life and character should be transmitted down among the historical treasures of future generations. His venerable image will be preserved in the hearts of his countrymen. His worthy example will shed a guiding and cheering light upon the years that are to come, and a high place will be assigned him among the descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims, and among those noble and fearless

---

* See Appendix.

men, who by their great actions and services rendered their own age, the heroic age of their country.

Our venerable and honored friend possessed, and through life exhibited virtues, which it well becomes us to commemorate in this place, and aspire to in all places. I can only glance at some of the most striking traits of his character. He was distinguished for the *native simplicity of his heart and manners*. This characteristic is especially worthy of notice when we consider the high rank which he held among the distinguished men of the nation, the dignified places he had occupied, and the wide space which his reputation has filled in the history and opinions of his country. Although he must have been conscious of all this, still we never perceived the least effect arising from it, to diminish the simplicity, and ingenuousness of his deportment. He literally knew no guile. The feelings of pride, jealousy and suspicion seem never to have entered his heart. He would listen with respect and confidence to all, however humble or however young, who might be thrown into his company. In his manners and in his feelings he carried the great Christian doctrine, that we are all of one blood, brethren of the same family, children of the same parent, heirs of an equal inheritance, into the most perfect development. He looked not on the most humble as his inferiors, and never abased himself by flattering the most exalted. In this sense, which is its only legitimate and should be the only allowable sense, he was the most thorough *republican*, with whom I have ever been acquainted.

The next striking attribute of his character was its *firmness*. For this he is known and distinguished throughout the whole nation. When his mind was once made up with respect to the course marked out by his views of duty and principle, there was indeed no power which man could wield, no inducement which this earth can offer, that would be sufficient to appal or to allure him from pursuing it. There was a noble grandeur, a sublime magnanimity in his character in this respect, which all have acknowledged and applauded. And those who may have thought proper to pursue a different course, so plain was it that he was governed, not by pride or pertinacity of opinion, but solely by his conscientious sense of duty, even they have ever regarded his firmness with lively admiration and with sincere respect. This attribute of his character naturally led him to the formation of the most fixed and decided opinions of men and things, which to a superficial observer sometimes assumed the appearance of prejudice. I allude to this because it affords me an opportunity to mention, what has always seemed to me the most extraordinary point in his admirable character. *He was not a prejudiced man*—he was remarkably free from prejudice. The nature and the evil of prejudice is that it discolors the whole moral vision. The man who is subject to it, when he has conceived a dislike to a particular person, on account of something wrong in his actions or character, is rendered unable to see or to appreciate whatever there may be in him that is good and praiseworthy. It was not so with our venerable friend; and my admiration of his pure and upright mind never

rises so high, as when I remember instances in which he has been the voluntary, the earnest defender of individuals, towards whom he has entertained a strong feeling of disapprobation for real or supposed faults, when they have been undeservedly assailed, or their actual excellencies have been denied. He was disposed to do justice to all men. He could not bear to sit in silence when manifest injustice was done even to his enemies.

While his mind was thus elevated by its supreme love of justice, above the reach of prejudice, it is true that he entertained the most fixed and decided opinions, as has just been observed, of men and things. And it was perfectly natural that he should. As he was governed, in the formation of those opinions by the most conscientious principles, it was impossible for any doubt or hesitancy to arise from *within* respecting their correctness or justice. And every one who has witnessed his great intellectual vigor, as it appeared in his unrivalled conversation, and in the unsurpassed clearness, purity and simplicity of his nervous and powerful writings, must immediately have perceived that his apprehension of character, of duty and of truth, could not have been otherwise than strong and decided. All good and great men have entertained, every good and great man must necessarily entertain, fixed and determined views and opinions.

He was a most *active man.* I mean by this that he was willing and anxious, upon principle, to fill up as high as he could the measure of his duty—to be as useful as his faculties and his circumstances would enable him to be. He felt that he was re-

sponsible to their giver for the use of his powers, and he acted upon a prevailing sense of the duty of doing all that he could do for the improvement and welfare of his fellow creatures, while he remained among them. He seemed to regard this as the condition upon which his life was given and continued to him. The great variety and number of his public services and social employments illustrate his love of activity and his disposition to be useful. It must be fresh in the memory of us all, with what zeal and energy he devoted himself, not many months since, when the call of misery reached us from a distant and famishing land, to the compassionate purpose of providing the means of answering that call. This was the last great service which he rendered to his fellow men, and it was a fit termination of a life of continued active beneficence.*

He was remarkable for his *pure, deep, unfailing love of truth.* On every subject he sought to attain to it, in every direction he pursued it. It was uttered in all that he spoke—it shone in his whole life—it prompted to every act—it was written in his countenance—it was never violated at his hands.

All, whose privilege it was to enjoy an intimate

---

* The name of Timothy Pickering well deserves to be enrolled among the benefactors of the suffering people of Greece. He presided at a meeting of citizens, convened in Salem, at his request, for the purpose of deliberating on their claims to compassionate regard, and on the best mode of contributing to their assistance—was Chairman of the Committee of Relief then chosen—and wrote the admirable Address which was circulated by that Committee throughout the County of Essex. All who co-operated with him in that humane movement, take pleasure in declaring that he imparted to it its life and energy, and that the sufferers who were relieved by the generous contributions of money, food and clothing then made, owe to him pre-eminently their gratitude. He was at this time 83 years of age.

acquaintance with him, will ever cherish a recollection of the *gentleness of affection and tenderness of sensibility* which existed in a rare and beautiful combination with the sterner features of his inflexible character. To the world at large the aspect in which he was chiefly contemplated may have been that which presented to view his energy and firmness, but they who were permitted to be with him, in those scenes and relations in which the heart gives way to the impulses of its nature, can never forget exhibitions of a tenderness of soul, which the rough collisions of life could not harden, of a sensibility, which time did not impair.

But I must hasten to present to you the character of our honored friend in another and a still brighter light.

He was a religious man. He was a devout believer in the Christian revelation. This was the fountain from which his virtues drew their strength, their beauty, and their grace. He was not only a devout, but he was a studious christian. It is but seldom that you will meet with a man, even of that profession of which the Bible is the text book, so thoroughly and minutely acquainted with the scriptures of both covenants. His knowledge of the sacred writings appeared in the most natural and beautiful illustrations drawn, in the course of free and familiar conversation, from every part of the volume that contains them. And it was impossible to be at all in his company, without discerning how profoundly and how frequently he must have meditated and reflected upon the doctrines and prospects

of religion.* All who have worshipped in this assembly must have noticed with what constancy he waited upon the services of the sanctuary—neither distance, nor inclemency of the weather could detain him from the worship of the Sabbath. In this respect how well did he represent his pilgrim ancestors! what a good example has he left behind him!

His *religious opinions* were in harmony with those which are here presented and entertained. He was led to them by the deliberate exercise of his mature understanding, and he recommended and adorned them by a long course of virtue and piety. They were at all times a source of consolation to him, they shed light upon his path in life, and gave him an unfailing support and refuge, in a hope that was fixed in heaven. They imparted to him calmness, faith, and peace of mind, upon the bed of death. It was my sorrowful privilege to be with him, for a few moments, not long before his departure, and to join with him in a service of devotion. "I had hoped," said he, "to live a little longer," (for a purpose which he proceeded to mention to me), "I had hoped to live longer; but," he continued, directing his venerable countenance upward, "I bow to the will of God, I am ready and willing to die."

---

* As an instance of his familiarity with the topics of religion, and his skill in the scriptures, the writer would mention, that in consequence of a conversation which he happened to hold with his venerable friend, not many weeks before his death, on the question "*How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?*" he received from him, the next morning, in the form of a commentary on the passages in John xx. 19, 20. 24. 26 and 27, which had been adduced during the discussion of the previous evening, a criticism that would have done honor to a professional biblical scholar.

Thus lived, and thus died, our beloved and venerated friend and fellow-worshipper. While the history of his country records his actions, and the hearts of his countrymen cherish his memory—let us, my friends, all strive to imitate his example, to cultivate his virtues, to strengthen ourselves by his principles—then may we hope like him to leave a character behind which will be esteemed by all who contemplate it, and will grow brighter with truth and time, and to follow him to those rewards which await integrity, purity, benevolent usefulness, and piety, in a better world; for our text assures us, that all, who, like him, walk uprightly, work righteousness, and speak the truth in their hearts, shall abide in God's tabernacle and dwell in his holy hill.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL PICKERING.

[*The following notice was published in the Salem Gazette of January 30th; a few particulars have been added.*]

With emotions of the deepest sorrow we have this day the painful duty to announce the decease of the *Great* and *Good Man*, the pure *Patriot* and illustrious *Statesman*, the

HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING.

He departed this life yesterday morning, after a sickness of a few days, in the 84th year of his age, and has thus closed a long and brilliant course of patriotism, integrity, truth, disinterestedness, and public service.

Though he has died as full of years as of honors, the departure of a character so much celebrated, respected and esteemed by the public, and so much beloved and admired in the circle of private friendship and domestic life, will create no ordinary sensation of unfeigned grief. He has left no one of his associate patriots surviving, except the illustrious and venerable *John Jay*, whose life is so much identified with the whole of our national history. From the peace of 1763 till a very recent period, he was a zealous, strenuous, intrepid, and influential actor in all the scenes and vicissitudes through which our country has passed; he participated in the discussions and troubles arising from the Stamp Act, was one of the most ardent and zealous Whigs, and when the Colonies were menaced with hostilites from the mother country, he was the foremost and indefatigable in arousing his countrymen to resistance, and devoted his time and exerted his influence to array and discipline our military forces for the defence of our liberties. When the struggle came he shrank not from the encounter; at the darkest and most gloomy crisis of the Revolution, he led a Regiment of Volunteers, consisting of the flower of the young men of this town, to reinforce the feeble band of Washington in the Jerseys, in mid winter, when the army was without pay, without a commissariat, without tents, or a hospital. The discerning and sagacious eye of Washington selected him for an honorable and arduous station in the General staff of the Army; he shared in all the scenes of hardship, peril, and suffering endured by our patriot forces till the Peace of 1783. His constancy, fortitude, toils, services, en-

title him to the affection, and endear him to the memory of all who glory in our Independence, and exultin the enjoyment of our free institutions and Republican liberty.

Col. Pickering was born in this town, on the 17th July, 1745, and was descended from a respectable family, who were among the earliest emigrants. He received a liberal education and was graduated at Harvard University in 1763, at the moment when the Peace between Great Britain and France had liberated the Colonies from a harassing war, and left them at leisure to investigate and ascertain their Rights in relation to the mother country. The controversy, that soon arose, engrossed his feelings, and enlisted all the powerful faculties of his mind on the side of his country. He soon became the champion and leader of the Whigs in this vicinity.

The disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies (which now form the United States) commencing with the Stamp Act in 1765, and revived in 1767, by the act of parliament for raising a revenue in the colonies, gave rise to two parties, which at length were distinguished by the names of Whig and Tory; the latter acquiescing in British claims of taxation; the former resisting them. In 1767 the Assembly of Massachusetts sent a circular letter to the speakers of the other Assemblies, for the purpose of promoting the adoption of uniform measures, (by petitions and remonstrances) to obtain a redress of grievances. Most of those assemblies concurred with that of Massachusetts. In 1768, a letter from Lord Hillsborough required the Assembly of Massachusetts to rescind the vote of their predecessors for sending that circular letter. This was peremptorily refused, by a majority of 92 to 17. The representatives of Salem, Col. PICKERING'S native town, were among the 17. At the next election, they were neglected, and Whigs chosen in their stead. This was the crisis of the political revolution in Salem. Col. P. was then four-and-twenty years old. His elder and only brother, the Hon. John Pickering, was chosen one of the representatives: and from that time he was himself actively engaged in all the Whig measures which were preliminary to the final revolution and independence of the colonies. Always a member of the committees of inspection and correspondence, the burthen of the writing rested upon him. The memory of one of those Documents, characterized by the most magnanimous and generous sentiments, is preserved by Dr. Ramsay, in his elegant "History of the American Revolution."

When, in 1774, the British Parliament, by an act usually called the *Boston Port-Bill*, shut up the capital of Massachusetts from the sea, thereby prostrating its active and extensive commerce, the seat of the provincial government was removed from Boston to Salem. Sympathizing with the sufferers of Boston, the inhabitants of Salem, in full town-meeting, voted an address to the new governor, General Gage,

the great object of which was, so far as an expression of their sentiments would go, to procure relief for their brethren in Boston. *That address was written by Col. Pickering*, and he was deputed as one of a Committee to present it in person to Gov. Gage. Its conclusion Dr. Ramsay has justly thought worth transcribing on the page of history. It here follows with his introductory observation:—

"The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to Gov. Gage, concluded "with these remarkable words—'By shutting up the port of Boston, "some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to "our benefit. But nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbid our be-"coming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it "otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feel-"ings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, "and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors."

While the seat of government remained at Salem, Col. P. received a note from the secretary of the province, informing him that the governor wished to see him at the secretary's house. He went, and was introduced to Gen. Gage. Taking Col. P. into another room, the general entered into conversation on the state of things, the solemn league and covenant, and the non-importation agreements. In the conclusion, the general said—"Well, there are merchants who, notwithstanding all your agreements, will import British Goods." Col. P. answered—"They may import them, but the people will use their liberty to buy them or to let them alone." These incidents are mentioned as evidences of the confidence he had acquired among his fellow-citizens, from an early period of our political disputes with Great Britain.

Prior to the war he was elected by the citizens of this County Register of Deeds. After the commencement of hostilities, when Massachusetts organized a provisional government, he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and also Sole Judge of the Maritime Court to take cognizance of Prize causes, pursuant to the resolutions of Congress, for the middle District, comprehending Boston, Marblehead, Salem, and other ports in Essex. Into these ports were brought most of the Prizes taken by the armed vessels of Massachusetts. The number of Prizes while he held the office, which was until he joined the Army under Gen. Washington's immediate command, amounted to about one hundred and fifty.

On the 19th of April, 1775, was the battle of Lexington. About nine o'clock in the morning, Col. Pickering being in his office, (the registry of deeds for the county of Essex) a captain of militia from the adjacent town of Danvers, came in and informed him that a man had ridden into that town, and reported that the British troops had mached from Boston to Lexington, and attacked the militia. This officer, whose company belonged to Col. P's regiment, asked for orders, and received a

verbal answer, that the Danvers company should march without waiting for those of Salem.

Immediately Col. P. went to the centre of the town, and met a few of the principal inhabitants. A short consultation ensued. Those who knew the distance of Lexington from Salem, and its relative situation to Boston, observed, that the British troops would certainly have returned to Boston long before the Salem militia could reach the scene of the reported action; and that to march would therefore be useless. It was nevertheless concluded to assemble the militia, and commence the march; *and for this sole reason,—That it would be an evidence to their brethren in the country, of their disposition to co-operate in every measure which the common safety required.* This idea, however, of the fruitlessness of their march, was so predominant, that they halted a short time, when about two miles from the town, expecting every moment intelligence that the British troops had returned. But receiving none, they resumed their march, and proceeded to Medford, which was about five miles from Boston. Here Col. P. first received certain information that the British troops were still on their march, and on a route which rendered it possible to meet them. He hastened the march of the militia on the direct road to Charlestown and Boston; until, on an elevated part of the road, the smoke was seen from the fire of a small number of militia muskets discharged at a distance, at the British troops. He halted the companies, and ordered them to load, in full expectation of coming to an engagement. At that moment a messenger arrived from Gen. Heath, who informed Col. P. that the British troops had their artillery in their rear, and could not be approached by musketry; and that the general desired to see him. Leaving the companies in that position, he went across the fields and met Gen. Heath. They soon after saw the British troops ascend the high ground called Bunker's hill. It was about sunset. The next day they entered Boston.

In the fall of 1776, the army under Gen. Washington's command being greatly reduced in numbers, a large reinforcement of militia was called for; 5000 from Massachusetts. Col. P. took the command of the regiment of 700 men furnished from Essex. When the orders came, he assembled the militia in the First Church in Salem, harangued them, and exhorted them to step forward in defence of our liberty in that hour of peril. After having sent round the drum and fife, as the signal for volunteers, he stepped forward as the first; his patriotic example was quickly followed by large numbers. The quota of Salem was composed of volunteers.

This tour of militia duty was performed in the winter of 1776—7; terminating at Boundbrook, in New-Jersey; Gen. Washington's headquarters being at Morristown.

Soon after his return home, Col. P. received an invitation from Gen. Washington to take the office of *Adjutant-General.* This he accepted, and joined the army under Washington's command at Middlebrook, in New-Jersey. The following letter was addressed to the President of Congress by Gen. W. :—

"MORRISTOWN, MAY 24, 1777.

"SIR,—I beg leave to inform Congress, that, immediately after the receipt of their resolve of the 26th of March, recommending the office of Adjutant-General to be filled by the appointment of a person of abilities and unsuspected attachment to our cause, I wrote to Col. Timothy Pickering, of Salem, offering him the post in the first instance, and transmitting at the same time a letter for colonel William Lee, whom Congress had been pleased to mention, to be delivered him in case my offer could not be accepted. This conduct, in preference of colonel Pickering, I was induced to adopt from the high character I had of him, both as a great military genius, cultivated by an industrious attention to the study of war, and as a gentleman of liberal education, distinguished zeal, and great method and activity in business. This character of him I had from gentlemen of distinction and merit, and on whose judgment I could rely.

"When my letter reached colonel Pickering, at first view he thought his situation in respect to public affairs would not permit him to accept the post. That for colonel Lee he sent immediately to him, who in consequence of it, repaired to head-quarters. By Col. Lee I received a letter from colonel Pickering, stating more particularly the causes which prevented him accepting the office when it was offered, and assuring me that he would in a little time accommodate his affairs in such a manner as to come into any military post in which he might be serviceable, and thought equal to.

"Here I am to mark with peculiar satisfaction, in justice to colonel Lee, who has deservedly acquired the reputation of a good officer, that he expressed a distrust of his abilities to fill the appointment intended for him ; and, on hearing that Colonel Pickering would accept it, he not only offered but wished to relinquish his claim to it in favor of him, whom he declared he considered, from a very intimate and friendly acquaintance, as a first military character ; and that he knew no gentleman better or so well qualified for the post among us. Matters being thus circumstanced, and colonel Lee pleased with the command he was in, I wrote to colonel Pickering on his return, who accepted the office, and is daily expected,

"In this business I beg Congress to be assured, though colonel Lee was postponed in the first instance, their recommendation had its due weight ; and that no motive, other than the regard to service, induced me to prefer colonel Pickering. His acknowledged abilities and equal zeal—without derogating from the merits of colonel Lee, who holds a

high place in my esteem—gave him preference ; and I flatter myself the cause will be promoted in his appointment, especially as we shall have two good officers in lieu of one, who, I am persuaded, will do honor to themselves in the line in which they move.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Gen. Howe having embarked his army at New-York, to proceed, as it was understood either to Delaware or Chesapeake Bay, Gen. Washington's army marched from New-Jersey to the State of Delaware ; and thence into the adjacent part of Pennsylvania, to oppose the British army then marching from the Head of Elk for Philadelphia. On the 11th of Sept., the battle of Brandywine took place. After carrying Gen. Washington's orders to a general officer at Chadsford, Col. P. repaired to the right, where the battle commenced ; and remained by the General's side to its termination at the close of the day.

On the 4th of Oct. Gen. Washington attacked the British troops at Germantown. Col. Pickering was in the field during the action at this place.

In December, 1777, the army marched to Valley Forge, and took up their winter quarters in log huts which they erected at that place.

Before this, the Congress, then sitting at Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, had elected Col. Pickering a member of the *Continental Board of War.* Gen. Gates and Gen. Mifflin were elected members of the same board, and before the expiration of the winter, they all repaired to Yorktown, where the board sat. In this station Col. Pickering remained until Gen. Greene resigned the office of Quarter-Master-General. Very unexpectedly, that office was proposed to him, by Roger Sherman, then a member of Congress,—a man whose name in the annals of his country will descend to posterity among those of her eminent patriots and statesmen. This office was a most arduous undertaking ; the performance of its toilsome and embarrassing duties had tasked the great abilities of Gen. Greene and cost his feelings the most painful anxiety. Col. Pickering accepted the office and performed the duties of it to the end of the war.

The project of besieging the city of New-York, in 1781, having been relinquished, and the siege of Yorktown, in Virginia, resolved on, Col. P. received Gen. Washington's orders to prepare immediately for the march of a part of the army at that place, and for the transportation of artillery, and of all the stores requisite for the siege. This was done. The event is known to every body. Lord Cornwallis and his army were made prisoners. This decided the fate of the war. In the succeeding winter, the British government, despairing of conquest, abandoned all offensive operations in America ; and in November, 1782, articles of peace were agreed on.

When the Continental Army was disbanded, he became a resident in the city of Philadelphia. A few years afterwards, a violent controversy, threatening bloodshed and civil war, arose between the State of Pennsylvania and certain emigrants from Connecticut, who claimed and had settled an extensive tract of territory in the "Beautful vale of Wyoming." Col. Pickering was deputed by the government of Pennsylvania to adjust and compose those difficulties; the performance of the trust was attended with personal hazard, but he undertook it with fearlessness. A daring outrage was committed on his person in that country, the details of which are interesting, and even romantic. The following account of it is extracted from a narrative, written by himself in the year 1818, at the solicitation of one of his sons, to whom it was addressed. A few copies of it were then printed and circulated among his friends.

Col. Pickering in that narrative says,—

"Such was the state of things, when I was requested by several of my respectable friends in Philadelphia, where I then resided, to accept of a mission from the legislature to attempt a reconciliation and submission of the Connecticut settlers, to the government of Pennsylvania. It was the autumn of 1786. In September I had passed through their settlements, on my way with a surveyor and two other gentlemen to view that body of lands in and about the Great Bend of the Susquehanna, in which I was interested, and to which I had then thought of removing—not having business in Philadelphia to maintain my family. I saw the Starucca tract, and there I had contemplated pitching my tent: the same tract on which your brother Timothy settled in 1801.

"Having received some information of the mischievous dispute relative to the Wyoming lands, I embraced every opportunity, while passing among the settlers, to learn their feelings, and ascertain the footing on which their peaceable submission to Pennsylvania might be effected.

"On my return home to Philadelphia, Mr. Wilson, then a distinguished lawyer at the Philadelphia bar, and afterwards a Judge of the supreme court of the United States, called to see me; and he diligently inquired concerning the temper and desires of the Connecticut settlers. I informed him that they were entirely satisfied with the constitution of Pennsylvania, and were ready to submit to its government, provided *they could be quieted in possession of their farms.* They had settled them, they said, in the fullest confidence that they were covered by the charter of Connecticut: they had made very valuable improvements, built houses and barns, and raised good stock of cattle, and an abundance of the necessaries of life—when the whole were laid waste and destroyed by the common enemy, in 1778—and more than

all these things, a great number* of their brethren had perished in battle: That from these calamities they had not recovered: they were poor, and incapable of removing and seeking new settlements.

"The next news I heard on this subject, was from my friend Dr. Rush. He told me that the General Assembly, then sitting in Philadelphia, had just passed a law, erecting the Wyoming settlement, and a large extent of country above and below it, into a new county, by the name of Luzerne;† that the usual county offices would be created, all of which would be conferred on me, if I would accept them. That being a New-England-man, the Connecticut settlers would place a confidence in my information and advice, which they would be inclined to withhold from a Pennsylvanian; and thus I might be the happy instrument of putting an end to an inveterate and disastrous controversy.

"Mr. Wilson also encouraged and advised me to take the step proposed by Dr. Rush. And after taking time for consideration, I informed Mr. Wilson that I would engage in this business, *provided I might assure the Connecticut settlers that the Legislature would quiet them in their possessions.* I particularly asked his opinion as a lawyer—as I also did that of Myers Fisher, a distinguished lawyer of the society of Quakers—"Whether an act of the Legislature would be competent for that purpose, against the claims of Pennsylvania, under titles of the same lands, derived from the proprietaries: or rather, *Whether the power of the Legislature was competent to enact such a law.*" Both the gentlemen answered in the affirmative—to accomplish a very great public good.

"With this understanding, I received from the Executive, appointments to various county offices; and an act of the Legislature authorized me to hold elections of such officers for the county as were in the choice of the people; and, in a word, to organize the county.

"The first object was, to reconcile the Connecticut settlers to the government of Pennsylvania. For this purpose, I went to Wyoming, in January, 1787; called meetings of them in their villages, announced the erection of the new county, by which, in all suits at law, justice would meet them at their own doors; and in jury trials, they would be safe in the hands of their peers, their neighbours,—instead of being dragged a great distance from their homes, and tried by Pennsylvanians, adherents of Penn, whom they deemed hostile to their equitable

---

* To the best of my recollection, they told me that the number of their slain and that died of their wounds, amounted to about 170.

† This was in honor of the Count de la Luzerne, who had been the French minister to the United States, during several years of our revolutionary war.

rights.* I spent a month among them, and with great difficulty succeeded, on the ground of their being quieted in their possessions; assuring them, that I had strong reasons to express the opinion, that the Legislature would pass a law for that purpose. But just as I was clossing, prosperously, as I thought, my month's labour, a pretty shrewd man, John Jenkins, a major of their militia, the second† leader in the county, in the interests of the Susquehanna Company, rose and said they had too often experienced the bad faith of Pennsylvania, to place confidence in any new measure of its Legislature; *and that if they should enact a quieting law, they would repeal it, as soon as the Connecticut settlers submitted, and were completely saddled with the laws of the State.* This was prophetic—but I had then no faith in the prophecy. A new argument then occurred to me, and it was my last. I remarked, that whatever might have been the conduct of Pennsylvania in times past, I was perfectly satisfied that *now* she was amicably disposed, and sincerely desirous of a fair accommodation; and that if its Legislature should once pass a law to quiet them in their possessions, it would never be repealed. And to give them the strongest evidence in my power that my confidence was not misplaced, I observed, That all the offices conferred upon me were of small value, because of the scanty population of the county; that I should need some other resource to maintain my family, such as the product of a farm: that I would therefore purchase of any of them who had land to sell, what would be sufficient for a farm; that in doing this I would purchase the Connecticut title only, and thus place myself precisely on a footing with them: and that if, as I confidently expected, a quieting law passed, I should hold the land; if not, I should lose it. A number of the persons present (and it was a public meeting) immediately declared—They could ask no more.‡

---

* These they called *Pennamites*—and by the latter, the Connecticut settlers were called *Intruders* and *Yankees.*

† The first, a man, able, bold and energetic, was John Franklin, a native of Connecticut, and who, at this time, was in Connecticut, consulting with the Susquehanna Company (or its active members) on the means of defeating the pacific measures of Pennsylvania here mentioned. Such are my impressions of the fact, from what I then heard; and the actual state of things, joined with the events of 1787 and 1788, warrants the conclusion.

‡ The father of this Major Jenkins had been a leading man, and one of the judges of the county court, when Connecticut exercised a jurisdiction over them. He had died before I ever saw that country. His son, Major Jenkins, had called to converse with me, at my lodgings, some days prior to the occurrence just stated. A sensible old gentleman, (Mr. Stansbury, then about 80 years old,) originally from New-Jersey, but who had long resided at Wyoming, was present during the conversarion. When Jenkins had re-

"I then recommended to them to petition the Legislature, which was in session in Philadelphia, to enact a law to quiet them in their possessions. They requested me to write a petition for them. I did so. The great body of the settlers signed it. I carried it to Philadelphia, and presented it to the Legislature. It was referred to a committee, who promptly made a report favourable to the petitioners, and the committee were directed to bring in a bill accordingly. The committee put their report into my hands, and requested me to draw the bill. I made a draught, which was necessarily long, to provide for the various matters incident to the quieting and confirming of the Connecticut claims. The principal difficulty arose out of the claims of a considerable number of persons who had received grants of the best parts of the same tracts of which the Connecticut settlers were possessed—grants made prior to the revolution, under the authority of the Penn proprietaries, to whom belonged all the vacant land in the state, as heirs to Willam Penn, the original patentee of the whole province. If the lands purchased of the proprietaries were to be taken from the purchasers, to quiet the Connecticut settlers, justice required that those purchasers should receive an equivalent. If at any time the state of Pennsylvania had been possessed of adequate funds, those purchasers might have been indemnified out of the public treasury: but the state had no money, and the state certificates like those of the United States, were then worth only four or five shillings in the pound. It was in the power of the state, however, to give a complete indemnity, without increasing its financial burthens. There were some millions of acres of new, unappropriated lands, of which the Indian title had three years before been extinguished.—These were at the disposal of the state.* I therefore introduced into

---

tired, he described the Major's character, as crafty, selfish and unprincipled, and concluded with these words, slowly and emphatically pronounced—" and his father before him had more sense than honesty."

* I think it was about the year 1778, that the Legislature of Pennsylvania, by a law enacted for the purpose, stripped the heirs of William Penn, of all the vacant lands (probably six millions of acres) in the state; leaving them only a few tracts of unsettled land, called Manors, which had been actually located and surveyed; and engaging to pay them only one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling by way of indemnity; when, at that moment, there were due to those heirs, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling, for lands they had sold to the inhabitants, and for quit rents. The pretence for this act of violence against the just rights of those heirs, was (as stated in the preamble to the law) that so large a property in the hands of a few individuals, endangered the liberties of the people. But the principal heir lived in England; and the others, John and Richard Penn, had gone thither; a condition of retaining their estates might have been, their not re-

the bill a section to provide for an equitable appraisement of the tract claimed by the Pennsylvanians, in the Wyoming territory; and in lieu thereof, authorizing them to locate, where they pleased in the great body of vacant lands, such qualities as would be equivalent to those lost at Wyoming; not acre for acre, but value for value.

"The bill, with very small alterations, was enacted into a law.—Commissioners, of whom I was one, were appointed to examine the claims on both sides; those of the Connecticut settlers, to ascertain who were entitled to hold by the terms of the quieting and confirming law;—those of the Pennsylvanians, to ascertain the quantity and appraise the value of each tract.

"Here it is necessary to mention the rule of discrimination prescribed by the confirming law, in regard to the Connecticut settlers.

"The decision of the federal court, at Trenton, on the controversy between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, was made on the 30th of December, 1782, in the words following:

'This cause has been well argued by the learned counsel on both sides. The court are now to pronounce their sentence or judgment.'

'We are unanimously of opinion, that the state of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy.'

'We are also unanimously of opinion, that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the state of Connecticut, do of right belong to the state of Pennsylvania.'*

"This decision, pursuant to the articles of the confederation of the states was final. But although the *state-claim* of Connecticut was thus forever barred, the case of the innocent settlers under that claim, was entitled to commiseration; and I early understood that the Judges of the Court recommended it to the government of Pennsylvania, to make some equitable provision for their relief—a recommendation, to which that government paid no regard. In drawing the bill for the confirming law, I marked the line between the settlers *prior* to the decree of Trenton, and *subsequent* settlers; the former entered in full faith of the right of Connecticut; the latter entered with their eyes open—with knowlcdge that the competent court had decided that Connecticut had no right: the former only were to be quieted in their possessions.

"The Susquehanna Company, claiming solely under the state of

---

turning to America. At any rate, a compromise, bearing even a distant approach to an equivalent, might have been adopted, to the entire satisfaction of the Penns. If I mistake not, the conduct of the Legislature of Maryland was similar, or worse, in relation to the heirs of Lord Baltimore, the original proprietor of Maryland.

*Journals of the old Congress, vol. 8, pages 83, 84, January 1783.

Connecticnt, ought, like the state, to have abandoned their claim: but defeated at law, they had recourse to intrigue, and all the arts of disingenuous and cunning men. In addition to the actual settlers at the time of the decree, they invited and encouraged emigrations from the states eastward of Pennsylvania, of all men destitute of property, who could be tempted by the gratuitous offer of lands; on the single condition that they should enter upon them *armed*,—"to man their rights," in the cant phrase of those people. These emigrants were called "Half-share men," and were to have each half of a share in a township, which I believe, was 160 or 200 acres; a whole share being 320 or 400 acres. By this management, the Susquehanna Company hoped to pour in such a mass of young and able bodied men, as would appear formidable to the government of Pennsylvania; and to subdue and expel whom, would require a considerable military force, to be raised and maintained at a heavy expense of treasure, and perhaps of blood; and that to avoid the evils of such internal war, Pennsylvania might be induced to a compromise; not merely to quiet the actual settlers prior to the decree of Trenton, and the half-share men also, but to permit the company to take—if not their whole pretended Indian purchase, 120 miles in length, and in breadth about a degree of latitude—yet so much as would make all the members rich. Such a project, to be accomplished by such desperate and flagitious means, it might be expected would meet no countenance from, much less be the very offspring of men, of whom some were of respectable standing in Connecticut: yet such was the fact: and such men, with their associates, were the authors of the outrages committed upon me, while I resided at Wyoming.

In May, 1787, a quorum of the commissioners met at Wyoming, now Wilkesbarre, and gave notice of the mode in which they meant to proceed in examining claims, and calling on the people to prepare the requisite evidence to support them, to be presented to the commissioners at their next meeting. This next meeting took place, at Wilkesbarre, in August or September following.* Many claims were then presented, and examined; and the commissioners were proceeding regularly, with a fair prospect of completing their work, in a reasonable time: when they were interrupted, and, for their personal safety, obliged to retire from the county. John Franklin, a shrewd and resolute man, the prime agent of the Susquehanna Company, and the chosen commander of the militia, with the title of Colonel, had been for some time visiting all the settlements, to stir up the people to an open and forcible opposition to the government of Pennsylvania. Evidence of these practices having been communicated (I know not by whom) to Chief Justice

---

* I moved my family to Wilkesbarre in July, 1787.

M'Kean, he issued his warrant for the arrest of Franklin, on a charge of *Treason* against the state. The sheriff of the county (for it had been completely organized, under the authority committed to me, as before mentioned) chosen by the people (according to law and the usage of Pennsylvania) and living among them, was not deemed the proper person to execute the warrant, though a very worthy man ; but who either would not have been able to arrest Franklin, or by doing it, rendering himself obnoxious to the mass of turbulent men, might be in too great danger of their vengeance. The Chief Justice therefore directed his warrant to four gentlemen of known fortitude, two or three of whom had been officers in the revolutionary war. On their arrival, they shewed me the Chief Justice's warrant. Franklin was at that time about 20 or 25 miles lower down the river, preparing his adherents for the explosion. In three or four days he came up to Wilkesbarre. The four gentlemen seized him. Two of their horses were in my stable, which were sent to them, but soon my servant returned on one of them, with a message from the gentlemen, that people were assembling in numbers and requesting me to come with what men were near me, to prevent a rescue. I took loaded pistols in my hands and went with another servant to their aid. Just as I met them, Franklin threw himself off from his horse, and renewed his struggle with them. His hair was dishevelled and face bloody, from preceding efforts. I told the gentlemen they would never carry him off, unless his feet were tied under the horse's belly. I sent for a cord. The gentlemen re-mounted him, and my servant tied his feet. Then, one taking his bridle, another following behind, and the others riding one on each side, they whipped up his horse, and were soon beyond the reach of his friends.

But this open aid given by me and my servants, in securing Franklin, exposed me to the vengeful resentment of his adherents. I would have avoided this step, if I had not believed the welfare of the good people of the county and the public peace depended on securing the person of that daring man. My particular friends, discreet men, who knew infinitely better than I, the character of his adherents, assured me they would assemble, and retaliate on me the treatment of their leader, and probably do me serious bodily harm ; and advised me to go out of the way and secrete myself, until the fury of the storm should pass over. This was in the afternoon of the 2d or 7th of October. I retired to a close wood not far from the house I occupied. In the evening I returned to my family. Some of the well disposed neighbours assembled with their arms. The rising of Franklin's men was expected from the opposite side of the river. I desired my friends to place sentinels along the bank, where they might discover the first movements for crossing the river ; and then sat down to sup with my family. Before I had finished

that meal, a sentinel came in haste from the river, and informed me that Franklin's adherents were crossing in boats. My house was within a furlong of the river. I took up a loaded pistol, and three or four small biscuits, and retired to a neigbouring field. Soon the yell of the insurgents apprised me of their arrival at my house. I listened to their noises a full half hour; when, the clamour ceasing, I judged that the few armed neighbours, who had previously entered and fastened the doors, had surrendered. This was the fact. The rioters (as I afterwards learnt from your mother) searching the house for me, and for concealed arms, if any there were.

"While I was listening, Griffith Evans, secretary to the board of commissioners, and a lodger at my house, retiring from it, fortunately taking the same course, joined me. Believing that when they should have searched the house in vain, they would proceed to the near fields, to find me, I told Mr. Evans, it would be well to retire still farther. When we had gained the side of Wilkesbarre mountain, we laid ourselves down, and got some sleep. In the morning I descried, at the distance of a mile, or more, a log house, which was on a lot of land I had purchased, and near a mile from the village, and occupied by an honest German, whose daughter lived with your mother, as a maid. I proposed to Mr. Evans, as he had no personal injury to apprehend from the rioters, to go to the log house, and ask the German, in my behalf, to go down to my house, (which, as his daughter was there, would be perfectly natural) and if he could see your mother, enquire what was the state of things, and whether I could return with safety. Mr. Evans waited his return; and then brought me word, from your mother, that I must remain concealed; for they were still searching for me.—It was now about eleven o'clock. I told Mr. Evans, that as I could not return to Wilkesbarre, we had better proceed for Philadelphia, and inform the Executive of the state of things at Wyoming. He readily assented; and we immediately commenced our march. It was through pathless woods; and we had no provisions except the three or four biscuits I had put in my pocket the preceding evening. That we might not get lost, I proposed turning short to our left, to strike the road leading from Wyoming; and thence take our departure with more safety. We did so; and then again darting into the woods, proceeded, as nearly as we could judge, in a line parallel to the road, but not in sight of it.—A little before sun-setting, we came to a small run of water, which I supposed to be the "*nine-mile run*," being at that distance from Wilkesbarre. I therefore desired Mr. Evans to go cautiously down the run, till he should strike the road which crossed it. He did so; it was not far off. On his return, we concluded to lie down, to get some sleep; intending to rise, when the moon should be up, at about two the next morning, and prosecute our

journey. About two miles from the nine-mile run, was Bear Creek, a stream perhaps 40 or 50 feet wide, and without a bridge. Having several times travelled that road, I knew when we approached it. There I thought it probable the insurgents had posted a small guard to intercept me, leaving their main guard at a deserted cabin four miles back. Mr. Evans proposed to advance alone, to reconnoitre ; and if he discovered there any armed men, to halloo, that I might escape into the woods. I told him that was impracticable ; fatigued, and destitute of provisions, I could not fly ; that each of us had a loaded pistol ; that I presumed the guard at the Creek would not exceed three men ; that if they attempted to take us, we must each kill his man, when the third would be glad to escape. With this determination, we proceeded. The Creek was not guarded ; we forded it, and then marched at our ease. In the morning, we reached the first inhabited house, about 25 miles from Wilkesbarre. Here we were refreshed with a comfortable breakfast, and then we went on our way. Having travelled some miles farther, we came to some farmers' houses, where we hired horses ; and then continued our journey to Philadelphia.

"On my return to Wilkesbarre, I was informed that the arrangement of the guards, to intercept me, was precisely as I had conjectured. A subaltern's command marched to Bear Creek, where they waited till night, when they returned to the cabin ; concluding that I had reached the Creek before them.

"The insurgents, soon brought to reflection, and deprived of the counsel and direction of their leader, Franklin, began to relent, and sent a petition to the executive council,* acknowledging their offence, and praying for a pardon. This was readily granted ; and Colonel Denison, the Luzerne Counsellor, went up with the pardon. It was natural to infer from this, that I might return in safety to my family. I proceeded accordingly : but when within 25 miles, I sent, by a servant who was with me, a letter to your mother, desiring her to consult some of the discreet neighbours, who were my friends, relative to my return. She did so. They were of opinion, that I could not return with safety at present. So I went back to Philadelphia.

"In September, 1787, the Convention of Delegates from the several states, to form a Constitution for the United States, which had been sitting several months in Philadelphia, concluded their labours. They recommended that the Constitution should be submitted to a Convention

* The first constitution of Pennsylvania was then in force. It vested the executive power in the Supreme Executive Council, consisting of a President, Vice President, and one Counsellor from each county. The legislative power was vested in a single body, called the General Assembly.

of Delegates to be chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification. Such a convention being called by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, *the people of Luzerne county chose* ME *their delegate, to represent them in it!* This convention assembled in Philadelphia (where I still remained) I think early in December. After a great deal of discussion, the convention assented to and ratified the Constitution. It was engrossed on parchment, and received the signatures of nearly all the Delegates, including the opposers while under discussion, with the exception of some three or four obstinate men, and, to the best of my recollection of their characters, as ignorant as obstinate. The opposers of its adoption were the extra-republicans, or democrats—the same sort of men who afterwards were called anti-federalists, and who uniformly opposed all the leading measures of the federal administration of the general government.

"I could now no longer doubt that I might return to Wyoming. I arrived there the beginning of January, 1788.

" Franklin remained in jail, at Philadelphia. This put a stop, for a short time, to the unwarrantable measures of the Susquehanna Company ; and damped the zeal of their partisans at Wyoming. Next to his confinement, they seemed to have thought my influence in the county was most adverse to their schemes. How to get rid of me was the question. I presume it engaged their attention for some months. In the spring of 1788, as early I think as April, there were indications of some plot against me ; and then, or soon after, it was menacingly intimated to me by Major Jenkins, (I doubt not in pursuance of instructions from the Susquehanna Company) in the hope, probably, so to alarm, as to induce me voluntarily to quit the country. In this they were disappointed. I felt no inclination to abandon my farm and buildings, which had cost me more money than I could again command,—nor to relinquish the cause in which I had engaged ; so I pursued my occupations, as usual.

" By the month of June, the indications of some sort of an attack upon me, became more apparent. To guard against it, by shutting myself up in my house, would have been fruitless ; because, if determined to arrest me, my house was not strong enough to exclude them. Besides, if I must abandon my business, I might as well abandon ~~my country~~ the county. I therefore remained at my post.

"On the 26th of June, at about 11 at night, when your mother and I were asleep, and your brother Edward, nine months old, was lying on my arm, I was awakened by a violent opening of the door of the room. " Who's there ?" I asked : " Get up," was the answer. " Don't strike," said I, " I have an infant on my arm."—I had no doubt that the intruders were ruffians come to execute the long menaced attack.

I rolled Edward from my arm, rose, and put on my clothes. Your mother slipped out of the other side of the bed; and putting on some clothes, went to the kitchen, and soon returned with a lighted candle. Then we saw the room filled with men armed with guns and hatchets, having their faces blacked, and handkerchiefs tied round their heads. Their first act was to pinion me; tying my arms together with a cord, above my elbows, and crossed over my back. To the middle of this cord they tied another, long enough for one of them to take hold of, to prevent my escaping from them. They told me it would be well to take a blanket or outer garment, for I should be a long time in a situation where I should want it.* I desired your mother to get me an old surtout, which was in the chamber.† She quickly returned, and I received it on one of my arms. They then led me off, and hastened through the village of Wilkesbarre, in perfect silence. Having travelled a couple of miles, they halted a few minutes. Then resuming their march, proceeded to Pittstown, ten or eleven miles up the river from Wilkesbarre. Here they stopped at a tavern and called for whiskey—offering some to me, which I did not accept; I drank some water.

"In twenty minutes, they left this house, and pursued their march.—There were about fifteen of them—arranged in my front, my rear, and on both flanks. We were in the darkness and stillness of night. As we proceeded, one of the ruffians at my side thus accosted me—"Now if you will only write two or three lines to the Executive Council, they will discharge Colonel Franklin, and then we will release you." Instantly I answered—"The executive Council better understand their duty, than to discharge a traitor to procure the release of an innocent man." "Damn him, (exclaimed a voice before me) why don't you tomahawk him?" This wrath of the ruffian was excited by the word "traitor," applied to their old leader, Franklin. No more words were uttered on this subject.

We soon reached the river Lachawannack, about two miles from the tavern. After searching a little while, they found a canoe, in which some of them passed over. On its return I stepped in, with the others of

---

* When I stepped out of bed, the first garment I took up was a coat, in a pocket of which was a packet of letters which I had written to one or more of my acquaintances, members of congress, (then sitting at New-York) detailing the conduct and characters of some of the leaders in the nefarious measures of the Susquehanna Company; which letters Mr. Andrew Elicot, then at Wilkesbarre, and who was to set off for Philadelphia the next morning, was to take with him. I dropped the coat, and felt for a pair of fustian trowsers, and fustain jacket with sleeves. These I put on—and my shoes.

† Your mother afterwards informed me that one of the ruffians followed her to the chamber, and threatened to tomahawk her, if she made any noise.

the gang. The water was low, and the canoe touched the bottom, before we reached the shore. I was going to step out and wade to the shore. "Stop"—said one of them, who had a pack at his back. He waded to the shore—laid down his pack—returned to the side of the canoe, *and carried me on his back to the shore!*

"Proceeding upwards, we in a little while came to a ferry. The day had dawned. They crossed over in a scow (a large flat-bottomed boat) to the western side of the Susquehanna; and we continued our march, on the shore of the river, for an hour or two; then struck into the woods, and pursued the course upwards, out of sight of the river. About four in the afternoon, they arrived at a log house near the bank of the river about thirty miles above Wilkesbarre. Here they had victuals cooked, and I ate with a good appetite; having fasted since I was taken the preceding night.

"Seeing a bed in the room, I laid myself down upon it. I do not recollect when they unpinioned me. I had lain but a little while, when a man arrived in a boat from Jacob's Plains, a small settlement about two miles and a half above Wilkesbarre. I knew the man. The ruffians (supposing that I was asleep) inquired with eagerness, what was the news below; and whether the militia had turned out to pursue them. He answered in the affirmative.—I immediately saw that I should not be suffered to keep my place on the bed. In a few minutes, one of them came to the bed side and said "get up." I rose, and they took me directly back from the river, a quarter of a mile; and behind a rising ground they rested for the night. It thundered; and a heavy rain soon wet us to the skin. At day-light one of the crew went to the house: and finding all quiet, he returned, and we all went thither. The drying of our clothes, and eating breakfast, employed us till about ten o'clock. Standing with them on the bank of the river, I observed a man on the other side, leading a horse. It was on the shore of the river. Being near sighted, I did not know him. But one of them exclaimed—"There goes Major Jenkins, now,—a damned stinking son of a bitch." By this *courteous* observation on the second man of the party, and the first in Franklin's absence, it was apparent, that after encouraging and engaging them in the diabolical outrage upon me he had deserted them. He, in fact, kept on his route, went into the state of New-York, and there, being a land surveyor, found employment, during the residue of the season, and until tranquillity was finally restored to the county.

"By this time, the blacking had disappeared from the faces of the ruffians; when I found two of them to be sons of one Dudley, a carpenter, and a near neighbour at Wilkesbarre. The others were all before unknown to me.

"They now prepared to cross over to the eastern side of the Susque-

hanna. Gideon Dudley came up to me with a pair of handcuffs, with which to manacle me. To this I objected, as they were going to cross the river in a small canoe, and I desired to have a chance of saving my life by swimming, if it should overset. At this moment Mr. Earl (whom I had not known, but who was father to two of the party) interposed—telling Dudley that there was no danger of an escape, and advising him not to put the irons upon me. He accordingly forebore.—We crossed the river ; and they pursued their march. In an hour, they halted ; the leader of the band selected four, and bid the rest go on—With these four and me, he darted directly into the woods. This excited some apprehension in me, of personal mischief; especially as one of them, by the name of Cady, sustained, as I understood, a very bad character. The leader of this band was a hunter, and had his rifle gun with him. As we proceeded a fawn was started, and as he bounded along, the hunter shot him, and in five minutes had his skin off, and the carcase slung on his back. At the distance of three or four miles from the river, they halted, close by a very small run of water. A fire being quickly kindled, they began to cook some of the venison. The hunter took his first cut. They sharpened small sticks, at both ends, running one into a slice of the fawn, and setting the other end into the ground, the top of the stick bearing so near the fire as to broil the flesh. Being hungry, I borrowed one of their knives, and followed their example.—I observed the hunter tending his steak with great nicety ; and sprinkling it with a little salt. As soon as it was done, he with a very good grace, presented it to *me!*

"Before night, they cut down some limbs of trees, and formed a slight booth, to shelter us from the dew. One of them taking post as a sentinel, we lay down on the ground : my pillow was a stone.—In this situation we remained about a week. At first, they had some good salt pork, and wheaten bread that lasted two or three days ; after which they got Indian meal, which they made into cakes, or fried, as pancakes, in the fat of the pork. Of the pork they were very sparing ; frying only two or three small slices at a time, and cutting them up in the pan. Such was our breakfast, dinner and supper : my share did not exceed five mouthfuls of pork at each meal.* They fared better—sopping up, with their bread or cakes, all the fat in the pan, of which I felt no inclination to participate.—It was here I told them they would repent of their doings ; and instead of being supported by four hundred men in the county, as they had professed to believe, that they would be abandoned to their fate.

---

* Yet I never felt more alert and vigorous in my life ; which I ascribed to my *necessary extreme temperance.*

"From this station they marched a few miles, and took another, in a narrow valley, a sequestered place, and about two or three miles from the Susquehanna. We had no sooner halted, than they came to me with a chain five or six feet long, having at one end a band like the bands of horse-fetters. Col. Franklin, they said, had been put in irons, in the Philadelphia jail, and they must put irons on me, although it was not agreeable to them to do it; "but their great men required it." Satisfied that it would be in vain to remonstrate, I was silent. They fixed the band of the chain round my ankle, securing it with a flat key, which they twisted, to prevent its being got off without a tool to untwist the key. The other end of the chain they fastened by a staple to a tree. In this situation I remained an hour or more; and they employed themselves in forming a booth with the boughs of trees.—This chain, besides its conformity with the orders of their "great men," saved my gentlemen from the burthen of mounting guard every night. When we lay down, they placed me in the middle, and one of them wrapped the chain round one of his legs; so that I could not rise to attempt an escape, without waking him up. But I determined not to make the attempt—for I soon considered that my life was not in danger; and I expected them to grow weary of their enterprise: so I patiently endured present affliction. Besides, if I escaped they could take me again, unless I quitted the county; which was the precise object of the outrage—to get rid of me.

We had been in this valley but two or three days, when, one morning, whilst all my guard were fast asleep, I heard a brisk firing of musquetry. It was a skirmish, I had no doubt, between the "Boys" (as these fellows called their party) and the militia, who had come from below to discover *them*, and rescue *me*. But I let them sleep on; nor did I tell them of the firing, after they awoke. After breakfast, one of them went down to a house by the river, in their interest, and returned in haste, to tell his comrades that the "Boys" and militia had met, and that in the battle, captain Ross, who commanded the militia, was mortally wounded.* At the close of this, or the next day, they marched down to the river, and sought for a canoe to cross over to the western side; but could find none. We were now at Black-Walnut Bottom, about 44 miles above Wilkesbarre. Thus disappointed, they marched back into the woods, and we lay down for the night. The next day, towards evening, they went again to the river, and crossed it. It was so dark, that at the distance of thirty or forty yards, we might pass unseen. They passed through a thick wood to the house of one Kilborn, father to two of the party. There we lodged. The next morning they

* He was badly wounded, but recovered. Gideon Dudley received from the militia a ball through his hand.

pushed back into the woods, about four miles from the river. This was the third and last station. This changing from place to place, was to prevent their being discovered by the militia, who came from below, at different time, to find them.

"On the 15th of July, Gideon Dudley (who now appeared to have the command) with two others, came out to our station. It was late in the afternoon. After lounging about for some time, as if they did not know what to do with themselves, they approached me ; and Dudley asked—"Don't you wish to be set at liberty ?"—"To be sure I do"—was my answer. After a little pause, Dudley again accosted me—"What will you do for us if we will set you at liberty ?"—"What do you wish me to do for you ?" was my reply. "Will you intercede for Colonel Franklin's pardon ?"—"No, I will not." This answer was evidently unexpected ; they were confounded ; and retiring, they for some time laid their heads together. Then again coming near, one of them asked—"Will you intercede for *our* pardon ?"—After a momentary pause, I answered—"While I have been in your hands, you have told me of your 'Great Men,' and that you have been acting in obedience to their orders. By them you have been misled and deceived. Give me their names, and I have no doubt of obtaining *your* pardon."—This they could not do, they said, without going down to their Head-Quarters, and consulting the main body ; and turned on their heels to depart—"Stop," said I, "and knock off this chain." They instantly took off the chain, that I had carried about for ten days.

"I lay down with my guard that night, not doubting of my speedy release. As soon as it was light, I rose, put the fire-brands together (in the woods, a fire is generally kept up at night even in the warmest weather) ; mixed up some of their miserable coarse Indian meal for cakes, spread the dough on pieces of hemlock bark (the usual trenchers) and set them to the fire. As soon as it was light enough to see *our green tea*, I went to gather it. This was the *winter green*, bearing red berries, which went by the name of partridge berries. Infused in boiling water, the winter green makes a tolerable warm beverage.*

By thise time my guard were awake, the tea was boiled and the cakes were baked. I told them that expecting to be released, I had risen and got the breakfast ready, in order to gain time ; for if released, I had a par-

---

* They once asked me if I should like a dish of coffee. "A dish of coffee by all means," I answered. They went to work. Boiling water in their iron pot, to make it clean, then emptying it, they set it over to heat. They next strewed into it some Indian meal ; and when this was roasted, they poured in water ; and as soon as it was boiled, the coffee was made. It was an agreeable change for our green tea.

ticular desire to reach home the next day.† I then proposed that we should go to their head-quarters, without delay ; where, if released, it would be well; if not, I would come back with them again into the woods. They readily assented—took up their kettle and frying-pan—(our kitchen furniture) and down we marched. When arrived near to their head quarters, they halted. One went to announce our arrival. Two or three came out, Gideon Dudley at their head—when he put to me the original question, "Will you intercede for Colonel Franklin's pardon?" "I will answer no question till I am set at liberty," was my return. They conducted me into Kilborn's house.

"It was now the 16th of July. Nineteen days had passed away, while I had been their prisoner. Having no razor, nor a second shirt, I had neither shaved nor changed my linen during that whole time.—They had told me, if I desired clothing or any thing else from home, and I would write for them, they should be brought to me. I accordingly wrote to your mother for clothing—and for a book. She sent them up as directed, and they arrived at Zebulon Marcy's at Tunkhannock ; and there I found them, after I was released. The shirt I wore from home, I repeatedly took off, and washed as well as I could, in cold water and without soap.

"As soon as I entered Kilborn's house, they brought me a razor and soap to shave, and a clean shirt, and pair of stockings; and told me I was at liberty. They roasted some chickens, and gave me as good a dinner as the poor wretches could furnish.

"While dinner was preparing, they renewed their request, that I would intercede for Franklin's pardon. This I again peremptorily refused to do. Then they made the same request for themselves; and I again told them that I could venture to assure them of pardons, if they would give me the names of their "Great Men" who had instigated them to commit the outrage I had endured at their hands. They consulted together for some time ; and finally told me they could not give up their names. "This (I said to them) is a very unwise determination. Here are two-and-twenty of you (I had counted them) who may all obtain pardon, if you will give me the names of your employers ; and among so many, some one at least, to save himself, will turn states's evidence; you had better therefore give me the names of the men who have engaged you in this wicked business." "Whoever does it (said Gideon Dudley) ought to go to hell, and be damned everlastingly."

"They then made a last request, that I would write a petition for them to the Executive Council praying for pardons, and carrying it

---

† It would be the 17th of July—my birth day.

with me to Wilkesbarre, take an opportunity to send it to Philadelphia. With this, undeserving as they were, I complied.

"It was now late in the afternoon; and unless I went to Tunkhannock (distant twelve miles) that night, I could not reach home the next day. They had a good boat in which they carried me down. It was dark when they landed. I had only set my foot on shore, when the two Earls came to me, aside, and offered to become evidences for the state upon an assurance of pardon. This I ventured to give them: but the rogues, when brought before the court, divulged none of the names of their "great men;" and reluctantly furnished any evidence against their companions.

"Walking from the landing place about a mile, across the Tunkhannock bottom land, we arrived at the house of Zebulon Marcy, to get supper and lodging. There I found the bundle of clothing which your mother had sent up for me; and there, also, I found an inhabitant of Pittstown, going down the river as far as Lachawonnock Creek.* And Tuttle, one of the "Boys," said he would go down with us, and take his chance. The next morning, we three set off in a canoe. Landing the man destined for Lachawonnock, the other went on with me to Wilkesbarre. On the way, he told me that he had joined the "Boys" but two or three days before, in order to discover where I was, and get me rescued out of their hands.

"Stepping ashore at Wilkesbarre, I walked directly to our house. You were standing at the front door. As I drew near, you looked a moment—appeared frightened—-and retired. Before I reached the door, your mother came with Edward in her arms. Consternation marked her countenance—as if I had been an apparition. My return so soon was wholly unexpected; and she looked at me as if to satisfy herself of the reality.

"Without waiting the result of their petition to the Executive Council, most of the actual perpetrators of the outrage upon me, fled to the northward, to escape into the state of New-York. On their way, as they reached Wysocks creek, they encountered a party of militia, under the command of Captain Roswell Franklin, and exchanged some shots. Joseph Dudley was very badly wounded. The others escaped. Dudley was put into a canoe, and brought down to Wilkesbarre, a distance of perhaps 60 or 70 miles. The doctor who was sent for, had no medicine. I had a small box of medicines which had been put up under the care of my good friend Dr. Rush. Of these, upon application of the physician, I furnished all he desired. But Dudley survived only two or three days. On his death, his friends sent to your mother, to beg a winding sheet—which she gave them.

---

* Small rivers are, in Pennsyvania, called *Creeks*.

"In the autumn, a court of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was held at Wilkesbarre, by M'Kean, Chief-Justice, and Judge Rush. A number of the villains had been arrested—were tried and convicted—fined and imprisoned in different sums, and for different lengths of time, according to the aggravation of their offence. The poor creatures had no money to pay their fines, and the new jail at Wilkesbarre was so insufficient, that all of them made their escape excepting Stephen Jenkins, brother to Maj. John Jenkins. Stephen was not in arms with the party; but was concerned in the plot. He might have escaped from the jail with the others; but chose to stay; and in consequence received a pardon, after about two months confinement.

"The fate of Captain Roswell Franklin, a worthy man, whom I have mentioned on the preceding page, I sincerely commiserated. Wearied with the disorders and uncertain state of things at Wyoming, he removed with his family into the state of New-York, and sat down on a piece of land to which he had no title. Others had done the same.—The country was new, and without inhabitants. They cleared land, and raised crops, to subsist their families and stock. In two or three years, when all their crops were harvested, their hay and grain in stack, and they anticipated passing the approaching winter comfortably, Gov. George Clinton sent orders to the sheriff of the nearest county, to raise the militia, and to drive off the untitled occupants. These orders were as severely, as promptly, executed; and the houses and crops all burnt. Reduced to despair, Captain Franklin shot himself. This, as well as I recollect was in the autumn of 1792.

"Governor Clinton was distinguished for energy of character. Had like prompt and decisive measures been taken at the beginning, with the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, it would have been happy for them and for Pennsylvania; the actual sufferers would have been few in number: but the unstable, and generally feeble measures of that government, instead of intimidating, rather encouraged hardy men, destitute of property, to become intruders; and thus, eventually, a great many families were involved in calamities.

"John Franklin, so often mentioned, having been indicted on the charge of treason, for which he had been arrested, remained a good while in jail. At length he was liberated, on giving bond, with a large penalty, And finally all opposition to the government, in Luzerne county, ceasing, he was fully discharged. The people of the county, afterwards chose him to represent them in the state legislature, where, in the house of representatives, he sat, I believe, for several years. During this period, chance, once or twice, threw him in my way. He was very civil, and I returned his civilities."

In 1790 Col. P. was elected a Delegate to the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of revising the Constitution of that State, in which he was associated with many eminent men, among whom were

Thomas Mifflin, Thomas M'Kean, William Lewis, James Ross, Albert Gallatin, and Samuel Sitgreaves. At the instance of Col. Pickering, the following wise and benevolent provision was made an article of the Constitution:—

"The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of Schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

From the year 1790 to 1794, Col. Pickering was charged, by Gen. Washington, (then President of the United States) with several negociations with the Indian nations on our frontiers: In 1793, in a joint commission with Gen. Lincoln and Beverly Randolph, Esq. of Virginia, to treat of peace with the western Indians: And in 1794, he was appointed the sole agent to adjust all our disputes with the six nations; which were terminated by a satisfactory treaty.

In the year 1791, General Washington appointed him *Post-Master General.* In this office he continued until the close of the year 1794; when, on the resignation of Gen Knox, he was appointed *Secretary of War.* In August 1795, Mr. Edmund Randolph having resigned the office of Secretary of State, General Washington gave Col. P. the temporary charge of that department also. Some time before the meeting of Congress, which was in December following, he also tendered to Col. Pickering the office of Secretary of State, which, from unaffected diffidence he at first declined. But as soon as Congress assembled, without speaking to Col. P. again, Washington nominated him to the Senate to be *Secretary of State*: and the Senate approved the nomination. He continued in this office until May, 1800; when he was removed by the late President Adams, and was suceeeded by John Marshall, the present Chief Justice of the United States, then and ever since his friend and correspondent.

At the close of year 1801, Col. Pickering returned to live in Massachusetts. In 1803, the Legislature appointed him a Senator to represent the State in Congress, for the residue of the term of Dwight Foster, Esq. who had resigned. In 1805, the Legislature again elected him a Senator, and for the term of six years.

Being in debt for new lands purchased some years before in the Middle and Western states, and by the appreciation of which he had hoped to make eventual provision for his children; and having no other resources—as soon as he was removed from office, in 1800, he carried his family from Philadelphia into the country; and with one of his sons went into the back woods of Pennsylvania, the Wyoming country, where, with the aid of some labourers, they cleared a few acres of land, sowed wheat, and built a log hut, into which he meant the next year to remove his family. From this condition he was drawn by the kindness of his friends in Massachusetts.—By the spontaneous liberalty of those friends

in taking a transfer of new lands in exchange for money, Col Pickering was enabled to pay his debts, return to his native state, and finally to purchase a small farm in this County, on which he lived many years, cultivating it with his own hands, and literally with the sweat of his brow.

Col. P. continued to sustain the office of a Senator in Congress till 1811, when he devoted himself entirely to the labours of agriculture.—Soon after he was chosen by the Legislature of this state a member of the Executive Council, and, during the late war, when apprehensions were entertained that the enemy contemplated assailing our towns and cities, he was chosen a member of the Board of War for the defence of the State. In 1814 he was chosen a Representative in Congress, and held his seat till March, 1817.

In his retirement he enjoyed the respect and esteem of his contemporaries; his devotion to his favorite rural pursuits, his extensive correspondence with eminent and worthy men in various parts of our country. his love of literature and science, and his zeal in promotion of the interests of our best institutions, furnished his mind with active employment.

The activity of his life, and the magnitude and variety of his public labors, left him little leisure for solitary and continued application to the pursuits of science and literature; he made no pretensions to either;—yet few public men possessed knowledge so various and extensive. The productions of his pen bear testimony to his ability, power, elegance, and vigor as a writer. The charms and the variety of his powers in conversation were unrivalled, and made him a favorite of the social circle. The grave and the gay, the aged and the young, were delighted with his colloquial eloquence, and instructed by his wisdom.

In public life he was distinguished for energy, fidelity, firmness, promptitude, perseverance, and disinterestedness. The many arduous and honorable offices he filled were in no instance sought by him, but were conferred on him solely for his fitness and ability to discharge the duties of them to the advantage of the public.

Of his private virtues there is no difference of opinion. All men of all parties speak of them with admiration. This voluntary homage has been paid to his character amid all the vicissitudes of party. In all the private relations of life he was honest, faithful, and humane. No man ever impeached his integrity with any color of justice. *Love of Truth*, and Integrity that could not be shaken, were his characteristics. "Where *Truth* led the way, he did not fear to follow." His manners were plain and simple, his morals pure and unblemished, and his belief and profession of the Christian Religion were, through a long life, accompanied with practice and conduct in accordance with its divine precepts.

During the past year he had been employed in preparations for writing the *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, a task he was eminently qualified to execute, as well by the intimacy of the friendship that long existed

between them, as from his familiar and personal knowledge of and participation in the events and measures to which it related. If his life had been prolonged, it cannot be doubted that he would have reared a monument to the memory of that eminent Statesman, worthy of the brilliant reputation of his fellow soldier during the war for independence, and his colleague in the cabinet of Washington. But the wing of ruthless Time has swept away "both the poet and the song."

The following notice of the early conduct of Col. Pickering in the Revolution, is taken from the new and improved edition of *Dr. Holmes' Annals*, a standard work in American History:—

"On the 26th of February, [1775] Gen. Gage, having received intelligence that some military stores were deposited in Salem, despatched Lieut. Col. Leslie from Castle William, with 140 soldiers, in a transport, to seize them. Having landed at Marblehead, they passed on to the draw-bridge leading to Danvers, where a large number of people had assembled, and on the opposite side of which Col. Pickering had mustered thirty or forty men, and drawn up the bridge. Leslie ordered them to let it down; but they peremptorily refused, declaring it to be a private road, by which he had no authority to demand a pass. On this refusal he determined to ferry over a few men in a gondola which lay on the bank; but the people, perceiving the intention, instantly sprang into the gondola, and scuttled it with their axes. There was danger of instant hostility; but the prudent interposition of Mr. Barnard, minister of Salem, and other persons, prevented that extremity. To moderate the ardour of the soldiery, the folly of opposing such numbers was stated; and to moderate the ardour of the citizens, that, at so late an hour, the meditated object of the British troops was impracticable. The bridge was at length let down; Leslie passed it, and marched about 30 rods; and the evening being now advanced, he returned, and embarked for Boston. Some particulars of this transaction are taken from the MSS. of President Stiles; where he farther writes, that the British soldiers pricked the people with their bayonets; that Leslie kept his troops at the bridge an hour and a half; that he at length pledged his honor, that, if they would let down the bridge, he would march but thirteen rods over it, and return without doing any thing farther; that the line was marked; and that Col. Pickering, with his forty brave men, like Leonidas at Thermopylæ, faced the King's troops." He had been chosen Colonel of the Salem Regiment of Minute Men, on the 13th of the same month in which this occurrence happened.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

RENEWED BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE
RECALL

LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

Book Slip–50*m*-9,'70 (N9877s8)458—A-31/5,6

Nº 749179

E302.6
Upham, C.W.
A discourse.
P5
U6

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS